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UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

Official Organ of the Congress of Religion

Unity Hymns and Chorals

Edited by WM. C. GANNETT
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"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXIII. THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1914 NUMBER 10

EXEMPLAR

How am I worthy that you thus should bring,
Dear friend, to glorify my city room,
Wild-primrose leaves and clustering strawberry-bloom,
First marvels of cold April's blossoming?
These crimson maple-buds lift voice and sing;
And though my sunless casements look on gloom,
And winds today from eastward wail and boom,
I sit companioned by refulgent Spring.
"How am I worthy?" Nay, 'twas not my worth
But thy beneficence that roamed the wood
And brought these wonders to revive my heart!
Shall Syrian dreamer's dream come yet to birth,
And all mankind know earth's abundant good,
In Nature's richness sharing part and part?

Boston JAMES H. WEST.

War is always noisy. The Ready-to-Fight-for-the Flag patriots are always eager for more marching, beating of drums, waving of flags and shooting of blank cartridges; but the quieter disciples of Him who said, "Peter, put up thy sword," the humbler believers in the claims of universal brotherhood and the potency of love, do more praying. There is a mighty sociological and psychological power in what the Salvation Army people irreverently call the "Knee-Drill." Let the thoughtful ponder on the significant of the most mystic of the Beatitudes, in its application to international diplomacy: "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

The movement to erect in New York a fitting art memorial to the memory of Robert Collyer has taken definite shape. Mr. Henry Hering, the eminent sculptor, has been employed to prepare a bronze relief in heroic size showing about two-thirds of the figure, with suitable architectural inscriptions. The monument will be placed on the front end west wall of the auditorium of the Church of the Messiah. The total expense will be $6,000, to which fund the friends and admirers of the great preacher,—who was as lovable as he was great,—on both sides of the Atlantic, are given an opportunity to contribute. Subscriptions, small or large, will be gladly received by Mr. William Shillaker, Treasurer of the Robert Collyer Memorial Fund, 60 Wall Street, New York City. "Quickened are they who touch a prophet's bones." Let not the beautiful be despised or forgotten in the clamor for the practical, for the beautiful is often more useful than the useful.

The Sixty-second Annual Meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference will be held this year with the First Unitarian Society at Chicago, at Fifty-seventh Street and Woodlawn Avenue, on May 18th to the 20th. This conference is summoned to a task. It is proposed that it re-establish its independent autonomy, raise its own missionary funds and administer the same, and advance its present endowment fund of some $25,000 to twice that amount. It has come to a crisis such as it came to in 1875. Then, as now, the missionary forces, spiritual and financial, were looked for from eastern sources, as the administrative functions were practically all discharged in Boston. Whether now, as in 1875, there is both a need and spirit to set up an efficient center or propaganda in Chicago remains to be seen. The problems of Unitarianism in the West have changed in many ways in the last forty years, but the needs of the world and the causes of civilization still cry out for help and all religious organizations are challenged by great opportunities.

"The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" is the attempt to bring about a union of the "orthodox" churches. These brethren have deliberately excluded the Unitarian, Universalist, Independent, and all other churches which do not accept certain evangelical interpretations of the sacrificial office of the Christ in the salvation of men. But notwithstanding this doctrinal boundary, the maintenance of which will bother those on the inside more than those on the outside. The commission appointed by this Federation "on peace and arbitration," consisting of fourteen gentlemen of national reputation, seven of whom are also members of that more inclusive board and on that account more alluring federation organized by Andrew Carnegie as the Church Peace Union, has issued under date of April 21st the following declaration:

We, representatives of the federated forces of seventeen million Christians in the Unied States, desire to put on record our steadfast friendship for the Mexican people, and to express our sympathy with them in the disorders which now trouble their country. That a way out of their distresses may be found is our earnest and constant hope. We wish them prosperity and peace.

We wish further to express our conviction that the thought of war between Mexico and the United States is abhorrent to the vast majority of our people. The citizens of our republic want no war with our southern neighbor, nor do they desire to dominate it, or to interfere with its internal affairs; but on the other hand they desire cordial relations and friendly intercourse.

We rejoice that in our President and our Secretary of State we have men who are lovers of peace, and whose purpose it is to maintain peace, if at all possible, not only with Mexico but with all the nations of the earth. That the purpose of our President and his Councillors shall be carried out is not only our hope, but our confident expectation.

We wish to assure our representatives and senators at

Washington that the voices clamoring for war do not represent the sentiment of the sane and substantial people of our republic, and we would remind them that the few newspapers which would hurry the government to extreme measures are voicing the wishes, not of patriotic and disinterested citizens, but of mischief makers and of certain vested interests whose aggrandizement is furthered by war.

"Blessed are the peacemakers"—so we believe—and we are confident that the glory of the present administration will be enhanced and its fame augmented, not by the slaughter of tens of thousands of the young men of the two republics, but by the peaceful solution of a difficult and vexing problem, by the forbearance and long-suffering and calm wisdom of a Christian statesmanship.

We print this week another address by Representative William Kent of California concerning Mexico and the Mexicans. It is interesting to note that those who know most about the Mexicans, who are most familiar with their defects and quarrelsome tendencies, are the ones who are most distressed by the bumptious militancy in the United States on the part of the army and navy leaders, who are restlessly chafing in the harness of war and loudly demanding that the dogs be unleashed, that "American dollars" and "American lives" may be defended. Mr. Kent, who has extensive first hand acquaintance with the people, who has risked large investments within Mexican boundaries, joins with Professor Frederick Starr in protesting against an invasion of that territory and the absurd assumption on the part of the exploiters on battle lines of "American lives" not their own, that this Latin-American experiment in democracy can be helped along by powder and ball. An intelligent American lady who has long resided in the city of Mexico writes indignantly of the American invasion. Her sympathies will all be with the Mexicans if the United States should be led into a hopeless conflict by the cocky arrogance of a certain man by the name of "Mayo" who precipitated into war a great nation like the United States,—affecting education and civilization and boastful of its Christianity,—on a matter of honor, which "honor," he claims, was stained because the representatives of an outlaw, whose right to represent Mexico is denied by our government, refused to fire just twenty-one blank cartridges at the U. S. flag. The school children are asking why just twenty-one? Is the sacred number of seven involved? Why not make it 2 x 7 or 4 x 7, or why not follow the more modern decimal system and make it 2 x 10 or 3 x 10? The whole thing is childish? The brutality of the present predicament of the United States is ameliorated by the silliness of the code of "honor" represented by *Mr.* Mayo,—we prefer to omit the title granted him by the United States. Mr. Kent, in a private dispatch, commends the articles in the *Metroropolitan Magazine* for April and May (another is to follow in the June number), by Mr. John Reed, as being the best representation of the actual character of the Mexicans at the present time. A perusal of these articles will show how absurd, not to say hopeless, is the assumption that the United States can shoot Mexico into our way of living. Notwithstanding the turbulent conditions, many American citizens who have cast their lot in Mexico prefer to stay there and take their chances with the Mexicans, rather than to be dragged away by diplomatic maneuvers from that sunny clime, with its great scenery, unlimited possibilities, and, under proper treatment, gentle and kind people.

Not only the women, but all Chicago has great reason to be proud of the Suffrage Parade of last Saturday afternoon. Out of thirty-four years residence in the city of Chicago, the present writer confidently asserts that never before was there a parade more artistic, better handled and more respectfully witnessed, than that which moved off on the tick of time at 5 p. m. The march was from Twenty-first Street to Randolph Street, a distance of about two miles, in double columns of eight abreast, and the last of the marchers passed the reviewing stand occupied by the Governor of the State of Illinois and the Mayor of the city, with their respective staffs, inside of an hour. The papers were conservative in their "handling" of the parade. Their "actual count" made the number in line a little below five thousand, which in the terms of political and masculine parades would have easily been reported as "ten thousand strong." The women did not always keep in step, but it is safe to say that they did better than the same number of business men would have done in that respect. Their white liberty caps, their forest of flags, their quiet demeanor and ladylike bearing as they marched between the solid lines of spectators, overwhelmingly masculine, was very impressive. It was not a noisy, "enthusiastic" parade; in the main there was the absence of cheers, but there was something much better, the men who looked on, as well as the women and the few men who marched, took the matter seriously, as well they should. Anyone who looked upon that demonstration with indifference, or who would dismiss it with a sneer, is hopelessly imprisoned either in stupidity or in dogmatism. The Abraham Lincoln Centre was represented by a squad of about fifty bearers of white bordered banners, the Editor of UNITY leading the column. Eight little girls bore a line of six white bordered silk flags strung together and they made a feature of beauty and promise. The column was elsewhere punctuated with white bordered flags, several of the marshals and division leaders carried them, and many more would have been carried had they been available. Those who carried the white bordered banners had to make them themselves. A band of women at the Lincoln Centre were busy for parts of two days in preparing about seventy such banners. Perhaps the dry goods men and notion stores will after a while

recognize the demand and supply the trade. It is not surprising that the daily papers, at the present juncture, did not see white borders on any of the flags. They just now are looking for gore. Had some of the ladies carried guns they would have been more attractive newspaper material. As it was, the only incongruous element in the program was the attempt to use the parade for partisan purposes. The "Woman's Democracy of Chicago" and the "G. O. P." element with a live elephant in front followed by the only masculine demonstration, several hundred members of the Hamilton Club, did not add much, we suspect, to the impressiveness of the occasion. The small mounted squad of amateur soldiers in khaki, who generously aided in the moving of the column, might well have been supplanted by the more dignified mounted police with their trained horses. The horses and riders who affected the military represented either the vanishing end or the crude beginning of militancy in the suffrage movement. He who can discern the signs of the times will not be at a loss to determine which it was.

Dogger Bank and the Tampico Incident

The arrest of the menacing movements in Mexico to give opportunity for friendly offices also gives our people opportunity to think; and this would seem to be the thing most needed. Reasonable men will refuse to believe that, with time to think, the people of the United States will under any circumstances sanction our falling back into the appalling condition of a week ago, actually threatening war because, in the disordered and abnormal state of things existing in Mexico, a boat's crew of our men were held for an hour through a blunder, an orderly going for the mail was arrested, and an official dispatch was held up by the censor. These are the three specific things for which our government has been authorized to exact atonement, the effort to include other things being expressly rejected. The three things were undeniably vexatious and culpable. Whether this great republic, in this twentieth century, with time for cool deliberation, counts them serious enough to warrant war upon a weak sister people torn by revolution, is the test of its national character and civilization. It is well for it to remember in this hour, when it is vouchsafed opportunity to exercise its memory, that vastly severer tests have been worthily met.

It seems but yesterday that the civilized world, and our American world especially, was praising England so warmly for her self-restraint in dealing with the Dogger Bank incident. In truth, it is nearly ten years ago. But is England's course in that trying affair not still praiseworthy? Do our people realize what a petty occasion for war was the mistaken but momentary arrest of our half-dozen bluejackets at Tampico compared with the indignity and tragedy which England had to face in the Dogger Bank affair?

The Russian squadron coming from the North Sea opened fire upon the English fishermen, killed several of them, sank some of their boats, and pushed remorselessly ahead. When the English official came aboard to investigate, farther down the coast, he was received in an arrogant and insulting manner, and on went the ruthless Russians again. If this had happened to some Texas fishermen in the Gulf of Mexico on a dark night at the hands of some of Huerta's cruisers, what words are adequate to describe the ebullition there would have been at Washington?

Consider with simple common sense what did happen, that caused the recent amazing ebullition. A few of our sailors landing at Tampico, while the place was under martial law, were thought by the petty official at the dock to have no business there, and he arrested them and took them up the street. His superior officer came upon the scene, immediately recognized the blunder, communicated with his own superior, and the men were promptly set free to go about their business. This appears to be the whole story; and, unless some particular kind of salute was forthcoming at some particular hour, by way of atonement, we were told it was an "occasion for war." To many of us this seems incredible levity.

What do our martial statesmen at Washington think England should have done to Russia for the Dogger Bank performance? What was the precise salute to match that indignity? Should the British navy have been headed for St. Petersburg that week, or the week after?

What did actually happen? The naval and military folk shrieked, there was a big newspaper clamor, and the government—kept its head. The matter was duly referred to a commission of inquiry and duly settled, not by killing innocent Russians, but by sturdy common sense.

The first duty in a sudden crisis is deliberation and agreement upon the facts. This is our own government's cardinal contention in the recent treaties. Our government emphasizes the insult to the flag at Tampico, declaring there was a flag at both the bow and the stern of the boat. The Mexican officials unite in declaring the boat was without a flag. Here was precisely a case for a commission of inquiry—not for a twenty-four hours' notice of hostilities?

Does anybody say that Britain's honor and prestige suffered by her patient self-control and exercise of reason under the Dogger Bank provocation? They were immensely enhanced by it. Until a fortnight ago every sensible American profoundly felt this. Why on the slightest possible provocation did multitudes of them practically surrender their convictions and si-

lently acquiesce in repudiation of the course which yesterday they praised? The people who are called to international leadership are recreant to their highest duty if they are not sane and sober and outspoken at the time when alone some good can be done by sanity and soberness and courage.

Another glance at history has an equally pointed lesson for us at this hour: Lord Lyons was the British ambassador at Washington during the stormy period of the Civil War; and he certainly had irritations enough—as we surely had enough reciprocal irritations—to provoke many requests for salutes to the British flag, if he had been hypercritical. We have been reminded lately of how at one time our authorities seized a foreign office bag sent through the lines by the British Consul at Charleston, because he had imprudently allowed the messenger to carry with it some private letters. The extent of the flurry over the thing in London was such that Lord Russell thought it might lead to a rupture of official relations, and sent Lord Lyons solemn instructions about it. But the thing passed over, and Lord Lyons' biographer writes in the coolness of fifty years afterwards that "it was an essentially trivial matter." This of course is the truth; and if Lord Russell had asked to have a punitive squadron sent over here about the mailbag, we should all say now, Englishmen and Americans alike, that he was hyper-critical and hypersilly. When one of our own official cablegrams is held up for a time at the Mexican censor's office and an orderly going after the mail at Vera Cruz is held up in a period of disorder, it is useful to remember that such things have occurred before and have soon been seen to be "trivial matters."

What is a government or a people to do when, with however good motives, it has made a mistake, a mistake pregnant with danger and disaster for itself and for the world? Here, too, history has its clear lessons for us, one of them the action of Gladstone in withdrawing the English army after the defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881. The situation there revealed to Gladstone that he had misinterpreted the general sentiment in South Africa and had not adequately grasped the situation. He saw that the opening of hostilities had been a blunder—and he put a stop to hostilities. The military men mocked, and the jingo newspapers talked their talk about British "honor" and backing the flag; but the statesman remembered that he had the true interests of England and of mankind in keeping, and he snapped his fingers at the "hobgoblin of consistency." For twenty years he was reviled by English Toryism and militarism; but what were the results of the policy of war with the Boers in 1900? It required three years' fighting for 400,000 British soldiers to subdue 100,000 Boers, at a cost of $1,250,000; and today the "conquered" Boers control not only the Transvaal, but the whole of South Africa, with their own leader in the war, General Botha, prime minister of the whole dominion!

These things are matters of history. They were history yesterday, they are history today, and they will be history tomorrow. What our people do today will be measured tomorrow by the same inexorable standard; and the greater today's temptation, the greater our duty to remember it and to declare it. Nothing that is petty can be made great, and nothing that is wrong can be made right, however much men in their paroxysms of "patriotism" may be pleased to pretend it.

These are the things for our people to think of in the period now fortunately given them for thinking, after the foolish flurry about avenging the "honor" of the flag. EDWIN D. MEAD.

Peace Sunday

The Church Peace Union recently established by Andrew Carnegie under date of April 30 has sent out from its New York office ten thousand copies of the following letter to churches and members not in the Federal Council:

Dear Friend:

The Church Peace Union recommends that the Sunday nearest the anniversary of the first Hague Conference be observed by all the churches. The churches of Great Britain have taken similar action and the public schools of the United States are observing May 18th as Peace Day.

Will you take Sunday, May 17th, as an opportunity to speak upon the movement to substitute judicial methods in place of warfare, arbitration instead of battles, good will and brotherly co-operation for national selfishness, hatred and disorder?

The last two years have witnessed some sad examples of conflict, lust and human hatred. Over three hundred thousand have been killed in the Balkan States, and during this very year thousands of women and little children have frozen and starved to death, and in the end all concerned are infinitely worse off than ever before. The Balkan affair is a striking exhibition of the futility of war as a means of settling international disputes and securing the common weal. The unspeakable atrocities of these two years of carnage should surely convince Christian people that war is contrary to a Christian civilization.

On the other hand there is a great worldwide movement for world peace. Into this movement the churches are now coming with ever-increasing interest and power. It is becoming more and more clearly recognized that international peace can only come through the preaching of a great world gospel.

We urge that you speak more emphatically than ever this year. Churches in other parts of the world are awakening and are calling to us, as the enclosed appeal from our sister churches in Switzerland reveals.

Last May about twenty-five thousand sermons were preached. We hope this year for seventy-five thousand.

We are sending some literature under another cover, more of which may be obtained on application. Please have your sermon fully reported in your newspapers and send copies to us. Have your papers print this letter also.

Sincerely yours,
Frederick Lynch,
Secretary.

The following bulletin has also been widely distributed from the same office:

The Church Peace Union, composed of the representatives of many denominations, including Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish, rejoices, with all good men, that the

President of the United States has accepted the mediation of the South American republics, Argentina, Brazil and Chile, in our unhappy relations with Mexico. We welcome this ready acceptance by the President and the people of the United States of peaceful methods of settling international disputes as a happy omen of the growth of that temper which desires justice, brotherhood and good-will with other nations, rather than war. We have noted with deep satisfaction that the press of the nation, with few exceptions, has evinced that soberness in the present crisis which has characterized the pulpit and the people, and has welcomed mediation as a way of avoiding war. It presages much for the happy relationships of the American republics that the offer comes from South America. The Vatican has instructed the Papal Nuncios in Argentina, Brazil and Chile to support these governments in their action looking toward the establishment of permanent peace between the United States and Mexico. The Church Peace Union, in addressing this letter to the churches, recommends and earnestly implores that every church in the nation set aside next Sunday as a day of prayer for God's blessing upon this suggested peaceful solution of our difficulties. Let all the churches pray that the mediation proffered by our sister states result in a just, happy and permanent friendship of all the American republics.

Mexico and the Mexicans

An address delivered by Hon. William Kent of California before the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C., April 26, 1914.

I wish to speak from a standpoint of sympathy with the Mexican people, whom I know and like, as well as from a knowledge of what will constitute our own welfare. I have had much experience in Merico. I I have spent months in the back country and can claim to have a knowledge of and a sympathy with the common everyday people, whom we vaguely know and often despise as peons. I have been associated with some of the rich men, the plutocrats, the nickel-plated aristocrats, and a more useless gang of crooks I never met. (Laughter and applause.) These folks are in no sense an aristocracy—they never heard that "noblesse oblige"—they have no regard whatever for their own common people. They despise them more than we do, look down upon them more than we do; but they understand their methods of thought better than we do, and are more prone to superficial politeness, and therefore they are more popular with the common people than we are.

The history of our people in Mexico has been scandalous until recent times. We have sent down there our outlaws, our promoters, our grafters, our refugees, and these have uniformly and always despised the common people. They have treated them with contempt; they have killed the men, and they have not dealt fairly with the women, and we have participated in the larceny of their land. Now, we wonder that the protestations of our good intentions are not taken at their face value by the people of Mexico.

I voted against the resolution that the President requested simply because I know the Mexican people. I felt that in the passage of that resolution for the acts complained of we had stumbled into hell. (Laughter and applause.) I did not believe that any leading Mexican could have the courage to indorse an act of territorial aggression.

Now, between us and a general war in Mexico there seems to be but one thing, and that is the fact that there is one man in Mexico, one strong man—Villa, bandit to be sure, a child of ignorant Indian parentage, who began an outlaw career because he was robbed, insulted, and abused, started out on the hypothesis that he must make war against Mexican society in accordance with the only code he knew, and that code justified barbarous methods. With the little education he had he proved himself to be a great leader of men. That man has been continually growing, not alone in power but in knowledge of what the civilized world demands of him and in knowledge of the needs of his country. The testimony I have received from private sources is that he is a brave man who keeps his word. He has, in a crucial time, had the courage of his convictions, and the enlightenment, almost alone among his people, to believe our protestations of disinterestedness, and seems to possess such a marvelous power of leadership as to hold his people in leash. We have now before us the choice of whether, in view of all the facts, we are willing to recognize this man as, in a measure, our ally, whether we are willing to accept his good offices in conjunction with the good offices of the great republics of South America, or whether we feel it incumbent on us to go into Mexico and to declare war on the Mexican people, 15,000,000 in number, who cannot understand us any more than we can understand them, and to fight through a war to its indefinitely distant conclusion.

It is simple to talk about a war as something short and determinate; but when the longer we fight the less we are going to be understood and the more inherent hostility we are going to incur, in view of this irreconcilable situation, it is time to see whether in God's name we cannot be led out of this hell. (Applause.)

Therefore, in the hope of peace, in the hope that we may not be forced into war and bitter misunderstanding with a fifteenth-century people of Indian and Spanish blood, I sincerely hope that something may be done to stop this conflict.

I am utterly sick at heart when I think of the petty futility that would sacrifice thousands of lives on the ground of preserving the national self-respect. Does any gentleman of today feel it incumbent upon himself to kill every underbred, drunken bully that accosts him? When shall nations reach an equal sanity?

These people are barbaric. We ought to know that. They are 90 per cent Indian. The wars among themselves have been cruel; they shoot prisoners as a matter of course and torture as a matter of course. So-called civilization has been cruel to them; they are only gentle when kindly and sympathetically treated. What a farce it is to expect what we call civilized warfare with a people like this. If we become involved we shall be forced to accept their view of the game. We cannot reciprocate, but we must understand what we shall have to suffer.

Within the last ten years I know of my own knowledge and can give the names of a new type of Americans that have been going to Mexico, men who have sympathy with the common people, who have treated them as human beings. These men have shown the honest, hardworking people of Mexico that ahead of them was opportunity for food, clothing, and, most of all, for their children to have a better chance than they had. To my own knowledge these common peo-

ple have responded to this appeal and have worked faithfully, so that their children might be educated and become self-supporting and self-respecting. We have been sending there mining and civil engineers and railroad contractors and other producers of things —decent people, who were not there to exploit or rob the Mexicans. We have sent men who have realized that these backward folk, who are living in a fifteenth century, of Indian and Spanish origin, simple and backward, yes, and cruel, are, after all, good, honest, kindly, human beings, entitled to a chance and worthy of it.

I could bring many men here who could tell of their own knowledge that these common Mexicans whom we propose to kill are the kindest-hearted people in the world; could tell of their fortitude, their boundless hospitality; could tell of the antecedent causes of their backwardness. If you believe that we can send an army of men into Mexico that will so comport itself that the survivors of these people will have a better understanding of the altruistic impulses of this country, such impulses having been shot into them, I think you are not thinking. If we can have ten years more of peace, I believe the Mexicans will come to be friendly with us. I cannot tolerate the thought of war with these people, looked at either from our viewpoint or theirs. Thousands of our soldiers would be killed by a people fully armed, incompetent in many warlike ways, but a people in a fighting state of mind. We all know that psychologically as between a man who is mentally in a state of peace and a man who is mentally in a state of war you can shoot the latter through the heart and before he falls he will kill his adversary, whereas the man who is mentally peaceful will quit with the slightest wound. Those people are excited; as we cow-punchers say, they are "on the prod." They have arms which they did not have until recently, and as long as their ammunition holds out they will make a desperate fight, and it will be a war of miserable reprisals. If we fight it will be against a people who do not know civilized methods of war; and who can blame them for not understanding the absurd refinements of murder? I know what such war would mean—the fifty years, the one hundred years, the one hundred and fifty years of misunderstanding and bitterness. It means possibly the wiping out of existence a people who, though backward, are honest, kindly, hospitable and industrious, and who, I believe, have the right to live and be led toward civilization through the use of the opportunities of a rich country, and who have been looted, despoiled, embittered, and rendered savage by despots of Spanish and Mexican origin. If those on this side of the line who are chiefly plotting, planning and fomenting war against this people were free of the lust of profit and land, we should merely call them senseless; we could not call them ghouls. (Applause.)

The New Jersey Audubon Society has installed a permanent exhibit on the Heinz Pier at Atlantic City, N. J. This pier is visited annually by many thousands of people from all parts of the world. The exhibit is arranged so as to represent graphically the economic value of birds.

A GREAT CITIZEN

The Life of Gerrit Smith

BY

CHARLES EDWIN PERKINS

Chapter X.

TWO STRENUOUS ANTI-SLAVERY GATHERINGS.

The Diary:

January 15, 1850. I go to Syracuse to be present at the Anti-slavery Convention.

This was a long-remembered gathering. Both wings of anti-slavery were present in the persons of their most eloquent and earnest advocates. It was hoped that the assembling of the reformers of all schools upon one platform might lead to the composing of differences, Samuel J. May, embodiment of benevolence, was on hand, of course, eager to forward good understanding and bring good people into accord. But as a result of the speeches and debates the alignment between Garrisonians and Liberty Party men was made, if possible, more clear cut and decisive.

A substitute resolution drawn and introduced by Mr. Smith on the second day of the meeting precipitated the debate as to the nature of the Constitution, the point of divergence between the two abolition schools. Mr. Smith resolution asserted for the Constitution that it was an instrument of freedom and not of slave tyranny. That it must be construed by legal rules of construction, and that when thus construed, its character bore out the claims made for it as a bulwark of freedom, offering no slight refuge to slavery and giving it no standing even under municipal law.[1]

Mr. Smith spoke eloquently in defense of his position, and found support in various delegates. The opposition, led by the poet, Charles C. Burleigh, was supported by Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster and others. But the great debate of the convention was between two representatives of the colored race, Frederick Douglass and Samuel R. Ward.

Ward at this day is less well known than Douglass, for the reason that the concluding years of his life were passed in foreign lands, while Douglass remained an American, and was actively in the public eye as long as he lived. But there was little to choose between the eloquence of the two men, or in their keenness and aptness in debate. Ward was a pure black.

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1. The conclusion that the Constitution, by specific provision, guarded and protected slavery, so general North as well as South, rested, with most people, on assumption. It was what was said that the Constitution said. When there was challenge to produce the warrant for slavery in the Constitution, there was often confusion of mind and puerility of speech. Thus, Joshua R. Giddings, speaking in the House of Representatives, remarked:

"I feel constrained, Mr. Speaker, to bestow a passing notice upon the position assumed . . . . that the Federal Government has guaranteed slavery to the Southern States of this Union. With all due respect to their talents and learning, I may be permitted to deny that there is any guarantee whatever in regard to slavery in the Constitution. When the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Belser) asserted this doctrine the other day, I inquired where it was to be found. He first said he found it in common sense; but not satisfied with that reference he said it was found in common justice; but finally said it was in the Constitution! I inquired, in what part of the Constitution? He replied that he had not then time to find it! I will now pause that he may inform the committee of the section and article in which it may be seen. (Mr. Belser sat in silence in his seat.)"

Before Webster placed his great talents at the service of the Southern oligarchy, he held this view of the Constitution. In speaking against the annexation of Texas, he declared:

"The theory that the Constitution of 1787 was made for the preservation, encouragement and expansion of slavery dates its discovery from a period long subsequent to the establishment of the Government."

It is said that Wendell Phillips described his skin as of such midnight darkness that when he shut his eyes he ceased to be visible. Douglass, as everybody knows, was half white.

At this stage of his career Douglass adhered to the Garrisonian view of the character of the Constitution. He dissented wholly from Gerrit Smith's grounds of interpretation. "Does Mr. Smith suppose any union in 1789 would have been secured on his construction of the Constitution?" he asked, when he secured the floor on the morning after the Gerrit Smith substitute for the Garrisonian resolution had been passed. "That they could not reclaim their fugitives and that slave insurrections would not have been put down by the force of the nation? . . . The slaveholders know of no such Union as that which Mr. Smith and the Liberty Party support."

At a later date Douglass came to agree with Mr. Smith and the free constitutionalists, and perhaps the answer to his own arguments that was made by the negro, Ward, proved a powerful force in leading him to a change of his convictions.

Here is a paragraph from Mr. Ward's speech:

Our friends say, take the broad and open ground to the dissolution of the Union. Then they will respect you. Well, maybe it will do good. But I have not heard that our friends have yet had much effect upon the South; that they have frightened the chivalry very much. We are asked, what should be done while we are securing a proper interpretation to the Constitution But I ask them, how they will dissolve the Union? And I wait their pleasure for a reply. They insist that the Constitution is so-and-so; is pro-slavery because Washington and other slaveholders made it. The only question is, what sort of a Constitution did they frame? What does it say? What are its terms? Not a word has been brought forward here to show that the Constitution authorizes the recovery of fugitives. It is all about the character of those who made the Constitution, of the actions of the Constitution, etc.

On another occasion, Douglass and Ward, speaking before a mob-ridden meeting of the National Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, made common cause before the enemy. Attempts were made again and again to break up the convention, and finally with success. But the anti-slavery forces held their own until the riotous opposition was thoroughly discomfitted, and their discomfiture was in a large degree owing to the ready wit, infectious good-nature and logical appeals of the two eloquent colored members. That New York anniversary became known in anti-slavery annals as the "Rynders" meeting. Captain Rynders, a political figure of some consequence in his own eyes, having been the leader of the mob which he had been mainly instrumental in gathering. William Lloyd Garrison presided, but was not permitted to finish his speech. Rynders was assured that he should be heard, and the platform should be open to any friend of his who might wish to speak after the regular speakers of the convention had been heard. Some semblance of order was secured for a time, on the strength of this promise. Finally one, Dr. Grant, made his way to the front and began a labored attempt to show, from anatomical study of the frame of the negro, and from a doctrine which he called "the doctrine of the elevation of the nervous center," that the negro is not a member of the human species. It was abhorrent to nature and to nature's God to consider him a man, he declared.

After the doctor had seated himself Frederick Douglass took his place, and after having been warned by Captain Rynders, who maintained his post on the platform, to "Mind his business and be careful what he said," Douglass opened:

"There is not the slightest danger of your being thrown into confusion by a monkey," said he. "The gentleman who has just spoken has undertaken to prove that the blacks are not human beings. He has examined our whole conformity from top to toe. I cannot follow him in his argument. I will assist him, however. I offer myself for your examination. Am I a man?"

The question met with emphatic response in the affirmative. But Rynders exclaimed, "You're not a black man; you're only half nigger."

To which Douglass replied, with smiling good-nature, "Then I am half-brother to Captain Rynders."

Douglass admitted that he was of mixed blood, and that he was a fugitive also,—

"Like Kossuth, another half-brother of mine." Then he continued, "As to what the gentleman says about our descent, and our powers, our lengthened jaws and curved spine and so forth—it is of no avail. We were born here; we are not dying out, and we mean to stay here. We made the cotton for the clothes you have on, the sugar you put into your tea. We would do more if allowed."

"So you would," called out a voice from the audience, "you would cut our throats for us."

"No," replied Douglass, "we would only cut your hair for you. We mean to stay here and do all we can for everyone, be he a man or a monkey."

As Douglass was taking his seat his eye fell on Ward. "I see my friend Ward in the audience," he said. "Friend Ward, come forward."

Ward was only a "looker on in Venice," being a Constitutionalist, but he came to the front. He was a stalwart negro, of the blackest black, as has been declared. And Rynders remarked as the man strode to the platform, "Well, this must be the original nigger!" Whereat there was a roar of approbation from the mob part of the audience. However, when the "original nigger" began to speak there was instant quiet.

"My friends," he began, "hear me for my cause and be silent that you may hear. I, too, have studied medicine, and studied dead men's bones, as well as Dr. Grant. I have often heard of the magnanimity of Captain Rynders, but the half has never been told me. I agree with Frederick Douglass. It makes no odds if the chin protrudes, or the forehead retires. I don't come here to find fault with Captain Rynders; but he is a Democrat, a friend of Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and says that everyone is born free and equal, and has the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All I ask of Americans is that they should stick to that, to their own doctrine. As to Dr. Grant's doctrine, Euclid was a black man; had the elliptical head, the protruding jaw; and if he was not a man there are no men, black or white. I might quote Mr. Alexander Everett, who says we derive our knowledge from the Romans, they from the Greeks, they from the Jews, and lastly they from the Egyptians. Now, the Egyptians were blacks; Herodotus, the father of history, says so, and he could not lie. He knew black from white.

"I am but a poor specimen of a negro; there are more than fifty people here who may remember me as a little boy running about the streets of New York fifteen years ago. I have often been called a nigger, and some have tried to make me believe it, and the only consolation that has been offered me for being called a nigger was that when I die and go to heaven I shall be white. But if I cannot go to heaven as black as God made me, let me go down to hell and dwell with the devils forever! The gentleman who denies our humanity has examined us scientifically; but I know something of anatomy. I kept school in New York and New Jersey and had among my scholars from the unmitigated jet black down to the nicest dissolving hue; and I have found white men as niggerish as black men; and have seen white boys with retreating foreheads and projecting jaws, heads that if you knocked here (tapping his own forehead) all day—as a writer says—you would find nobody at home.

"One word about natural instincts, because the Herald speaks of spirits black, white and gray, as if he saw them. I never pretended to see or speak of them if they are contrary to instinct. But have you a Bible here? In Acts xiii-1 you will find whites and blacks in close propinquity. There were a number of prophets in the church at Antioch, and one of them was Simeon, who was called Niger—that is the Latin word for a black man. If that which they have told us is instinct be instinct, tell me why such an instinct is only American? It is an instinct only known in America, a Yankee invention; something like primeval hams and wooden nutmegs. I am going to speak this evening to colored people on their rights and duties; and if they don't behave better than some white men, why, it will be time for me to give up my argument."

Rev. Dr. Furness, describing Ward's speech, remarked that he had never heard such a strain of unpremeditated eloquence. And Lucretia Mott, meeting Captain Rynders in the aisle, said, with glee, "Oh, Captain Rynders, how can we thank you enough for this."

Ward's popularity as a public speaker was greatly enhanced by his triumphant experience with the Rynders mob. He traveled and lectured extensively for a year or two in the northern states, when he went to Canada and later to England. He was very successful in presenting the situation of his race to the British public and enlisting people in the anti-slavery cause. The highest tributes were paid there, as in his own country, to his transcendent force and ability as an orator. While in England he wrote and published his autobiography, which was favorably received. Being presented by a friend with an estate in the island of Jamaica, he sailed thither and took up his residence. And there he died in 1867.[2]

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The Apocryphal Period of Jewish Literature

Hebrew Thought Meets Greek Culture

A Years Work

In the study of the Blank Leaf between the Old and New Testaments as given by Jenkin Lloyd Jones in his Classes of Religion.

1913-1914

Prepared for UNITY by Miss May Johnson and Mrs. William Rothman

The Prayer of Manasses

XIV.

Presented by Mrs. Earl H. Reed

Text: *"Therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching Thee of Grace."* v:11.

The Prayer of Manasses is a bit of a book in the Apocrypha. In the Septuagint it was placed in the thirty-third chapter of second Chronicles, in the account of Manasses, where it would properly belong. Of course it was written centuries after Manasses lived, and, as has been said rather pithily, "He repented long after he died," for there is no historical evidence that he did repent, although the Chronicles give his story.

Manasses was the son of probably the greatest king of Israel, Hezekiah, who was late enough to be under the inspiration of the great prophet and statesman, the first Isaiah, the son of Amos, author of the first thirty-nine chapters of the book of Isaiah.

Manasses came to the throne when he was twelve years old. His father had restored the religion of Jehovah and had cast down the altars of the foreign gods, supposedly of the Assyrians, who in the Bible are accused of worshipping the "hosts of heaven," Ashtaroth is found in the religion of Babylon. The Israelites were prone to thus falling away from the true faith and following the impulses of human nature, seeking the thing that was most easily understood, most modern and most popular or fashionable. The Jehovah Thought was always difficult to grasp and a material presence desired.

When the young boy Manasses came to the throne he found the religion of Jehovah re-installed. During the reign of his father the Temple had been cleansed and repaired and the observance of the ritual established according to the law. We may read into the record what possibly occurred, because we know from history what was liable to occur. Some powerful statesman-politician took charge of the young king, the wise and noble Isaiah was disgraced and discarded. We find no mention of Isaiah after Manasses came to the throne. Under this domination, whatever it may have been, a child of twelve could not but yield. Although in that warm climate he perhaps developed rapidly, still it does not seem possible that he could have had any real administrative authority on his own part. Very soon the heathen religion, which had been in vogue before his father's time, was re-installed. Assyria at this time was a constant menace to Judah, and the old prophets warned and besought the people to be good or the enemy would come down upon them, and Assyria did come down. The young king was taken captive to Nineveh. Prof. Sayce speaks of a tablet found in Assyria bearing the name of Manasses. It was in Nineveh that his alleged conversion and repentance occurred and it was there the one who wrote the prayer laid the scene. (See chapter XXXIII II Chronicles, first 18 verses.)

Scholars believe that probably there was a full account of his repentance, containing this prayer, which has been lost, but for the existence of which there is presumptive evidence. Churton in his introduction says:

> These records having been lost, or only preserved in part by an imperfect tradition, some devout Jew endeavored to restore the prayer from such fragments as remained, or to frame such a petition as might have been used by such a penitent. Its use by the Christian Church is evident from the Apostolical Constitutions, and from its place among the Canticles at the end of the Psalter.

Churton's version is as follows:

The Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon:

O Lord Almighty, (who dwellest in the heavens)
God of our fathers,
Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,
And of their righteous seed;
Who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof;
Who hast bound the sea by the word of Thy commandment;
Who hast shut up the deep and sealed it by Thy terrible and glorious Name;
Whom all men fear, and tremble before Thy power;
For the majesty of Thy glory cannot be borne,
And thine angry threatening toward sinners is importable;
But Thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable;
For Thou art the Most High Lord,

2. I owe the substance of this account of the parts taken by Douglas and Ward in the two anti-slavery meetings, to an admirable article in the Springfield Republican of February 27, 1913, by George W. Forbes.

Of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful,
And repentest of the evils of men.
Thou, O Lord, according to Thy great goodness hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against Thee;
And of Thine infinite mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved.
Thou, therefore, O Lord, Thou art the God of the just,
Hast not appointed repentance to the just,
As to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, which have not sinned against Thee,
But Thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner:
For I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea.
My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied,
My transgressions are multiplied;
And I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities.
I am bowed down with many iron bands,
That I cannot lift up mine head (for my sins), neither have any release;
For I have provoked Thy wrath,
And done evil before Thee;
And did not Thy will, neither kept I Thy commandments;
I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences.
Now therefore I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching Thee of grace.
I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned,
And I acknowledge mine iniquities:
Wherefore, I humbly beseech Thee,
Forgive me, O Lord, forgive me,
And destroy me not with mine iniquities.
Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me;
Neither condemn me into the lower parts of the earth,
For Thou art the God, even the God of them that repent;
And in me Thou wilt show all Thy goodness;
For Thou wilt save me, that am unworthy, according to Thy great mercy.
Therefore I will praise Thee forever all the days of my life;
For all the powers of the heavens do praise Thee,
And Thine is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

A beautiful prayer, certainly reaching down into the depts of repentance.

The Rabbis name three persons in their rolls who came to Jehovah for forgiveness, the three great sinners of Bible history, Cain, Esau and Manasses. Cain prayed, saying: "My sin is too great for forgiveness." Esau entreated: "O Lord for still another blessing," and Manasses prayed to the one God when before he had prayed to the many.

Here is another story of the Rabbis, related in Mr. Jones' "The Blank Leaf." A certain Rabbi was ill and four of his elders went to visit him. The first three sought to cheer him with compliments and flattery. But the fourth said: "Precious are chastisements." At this the sick man said: "Prop me up that I may listen," and, turning to the wise elder, he asked, "How can you prove that saying, 'Precious are chastisements?'" In reply the elder recited the story of Manasses, whom nothing but chastisement could bring to well-doing.

Manasses has figured as a very wicked person in Jewish history, a sort of arch fiend, comparable to King John and Benedict Arnold, but differing, in that he was given a chance to repent, thus emphasizing the goodness of God and the salutary effect of repentance.

QUESTIONS.

(1) Give the historical background of the prayer.
(2) What great prophet lived at this time without recognition?
(3) Have we any historical evidence that Manasses ever really repented?
(4) Has this penitential prayer any hint of immortality?
(5) What would you say of Manasses conception of God?

"THE ORIENT, HALF MOROCCA, 8VO."

She bought a book, once, with the butter money—
A wild, undreamed-of, reckless thing to do!
(So much to manage for the winter schooling;
That split in Hannah Mary's Sunday shoe. . . .)

The cover bravely flaunted gold and scarlet,—
Gave hint and promise of the hidden feast,
Fine-grained and limber, sleek beneath the fingers,
Frankly symbolic of the gorgeous East.

She wrapt it up and laid it in the bureau;
She knew she wouldn't get to read it soon,—
Not while she had the harvesters to cook for,
Tho' maybe . . . of a Sunday afternoon. . . .

How often, then, her thoughts went winging to it
Through all the cumbered days she had to wait,
Till, in a scanty hour of hard-won leisure,
She entered shyly through the latticed gate:

Dim *harîms* . . . *sultans* . . . *yashmaks* . . . cloudy *nárgilehs*,—
Strange sounding words from far-off story lands;
The farmhouse fades; the Wishing Carpet bears her
To Kairowan, across the golden sands.

Since then, through all the somber woof of living,
For her the mystic Orient weaves its spells;
Faintly, at dawn, down through the dairy pasture,
She seems to hear the chime of temple bells.

Now she can see beyond the piles of mending—
(There is a window in her prison tower!)
Beyond the baking and the baby tending:
The Mueddin cries across the sunset hour.

When the fierce August sun in grudging mercy,
Threatening worse torments for the morrow, sets,
The battered barns, the tanks, the gilded hay cocks,
Are distant domes, and towers, and minarets.

The sullen farmer, summoned in to supper,
Weary and silent as he slouches down,
To her fresh eyes becomes a mighty Caliph
Whose minions tremble at his slightest frown.

Subtlest of all—of course they do not mark it—
She in herself is gently touched with grace—
The swifter carriage of the toil-warped figure,
The ghost of girlhood in her furrowed face.

Sometimes they have to call her twice, and sharply;
(They see her, and they think that she is there!)
Through all the homely clamor, she is hearing
Oh, very near and clear, The Call to Prayer!

The Independent. —*Ruth Comfort Mitchell.*

In the April *American Magazine* Mary Antin, writing an interesting article about immigrants, says:

"Some of the things we say against the immigrants sound very strange from American lips. We speak of the corruption of our children's manners through contact with immigrant children in the public schools, when all the world is scolding us for our children's rude deportment. Finer manners are grown on a tiny farm in Italy than in the roaring subways of New York; and contrast our lunch-counter manners with the table manners of the Polish ghetto, where bread must not be touched with unwashed hands, where a pause for prayer begins and ends each meal, and on festival occasions parents and children join in folk songs between courses!"

Export of skins and feathers of birds of paradise from the German part of New Guinea during 1914 has been prohibited.

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THE FIELD

"The World is my Country, to do Good is my Religion."

A PEACE MEETING IN CHICAGO

Monday noon, April 27, several hundred of Chicago's busy men and women gathered in the auditorium of the Young Men's Christian Association to further the cause of peace under the existing distracting status of the difficulty between the United States and Mexico. It will be remembered that on that date Vera Cruz was under martial law, proclaimed and enforced by Admiral Fletcher of the United States navy, after a considerable loss of life both of our own blue-jackets and of Mexicans, in taking forcible control of the city. Many foreigners, including several hundred United States citizens, were tied up in various Mexican cities and their safety a matter of grave doubt. within the preceding twenty-four hours the first ray of light had been thrown on the almost hopeless situation by the offer of mediation tendered by the so-called "A B C" republics of South America, and its prompt acceptance by President Wilson and Mr. Bryan. Acting President Huerta's consent to such a solution was still hanging fire and General Carranza, the head of the constitutionalist army, had not been heard from on the proposition.

It was at this stage of affairs that the Peace Meeting was called by Miss Jane Addams, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Charles E. Beals, and others. Mr. Beals was made secretary of the meeting and Jenkin Lloyd Jones presided. Mr. Jones announced the purpose of the gathering to be: "To offer a word of sane, sober, devout, patriotic protest against the recrudescence of the war spirit, against the tendency, too manifest on many sides, to plunge our nation into the horrible disgraces of an invading war."

The first speaker introduced was Miss Jane Addams. We quote briefly from her address:

"It takes courage to stand for peace when your neighbors are shouting for war. James Bryce once said that there was that in Mexico which allied it more directly to the South American states than to the United States. Their breeding and tendencies are Spanish rather than Anglo-Saxon. He also said that one of the great duties of America with all the implications of the Monroe Doctrine was to serve as many forms of government as possible as they were being worked out in these Latin-American states. To say that self-government is only possible to the Anglo-Saxon is to belie the very spirit of self-government. That is the position which President Wilson has taken ever since the difficulty with Mexico began. He has held it is the business of America to push forward and help the possibilities of self-government everywhere. We in Chicago should be willing to meet in such meetings as this and to assure the President not only of our deep confidence but of our willingness to speak out, and that we are not afraid even of being called non-patriotic."

Professor Shailer Matthews of the Divinity School of the Chicago University spoke for the boys, his own boy at Yale and others, urging the development of higher ideals rather than the love of picturesque adventure. One of the Professor's pithy remarks was: "I can understand what it is to be a highwayman. I can understand what it is to be a Christian. I can understand, at least in part, what it is to be civilized; but I cannot understand how a man can be a highwayman in the name of civilization. Let us help our boys to an appreciation of the larger patriotism, the more spiritual patriotism which holds that large questions must be settled in terms of peace, rather than in terms of brute force."

The Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan of the Roman Catholic Church seemed to express the general feeling of the meeting when he thanked God that we had at the head of our nation a scholar and a Christian man, who knows the responsibility of entering into war, and who loves his country so much that he loves every citizen in it and will sacrifice not one humblest boy in our navy, unless honor absolutely demands it.

He said: "It behooves us in the midst of times when savage instincts are aroused, to ask ourselves if we shall be tempted to swerve from the higher principles of life because of the noise of the so-called glory and pomp of war. Behind the pomp and the noise there is bloodshed, there is cruelty, there is bound to be much wrong, much sin."

"The existing embroglio with Mexico," said the Hon. Wm. J. Calhoun, ex-Minister to China, "involves two fundamental questions. One is the ethical question as to what the attitude of a strong nation shall be toward a weak, backward nation; whether the latter shall be subjected to an enforced tutelage or whether there shall be co-operation among friendly nations to help the weak and backward nation.

"The second proposition involves the so-called Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine has for its foundation only a proclamation or message of a President of the United States to the American Congress many years ago. The conditions which prompted that message have long since passed away. It is a question in the minds of many if the time has not come to repeal that doctrine entirely. We have in the present situation an illustration of the responsibility imposed upon us by it, not only toward Mexico but all Central America. I believe that any people that are capable of understanding and appreciating and wishing to maintain a republican form of government must have the strength and courage and ability in their own consciousness to achieve and maintain such a result, and I do not believe our government is intended or expected to act as the police-power of the western hemisphere. We are confronted with a situation wherein there is a people who have no conception of what a republic is, never in their whole long history have they had a republic,—not as we understand the term, and perhaps they are not capable of maintaining a republic. I feel that if they are worthy of liberty, if they can achieve it and maintain it, we should let them fight it out among themselves just as we have done.

"I have every confidence in the integrity and sincerity of the President of the United States. Let us utter our word in favor of peace; then if the dire results of war must come, I am for standing by our government to the last dollar and the last man. But let us dread it and avoid it if we honorably can."

Judge Edwin O. Brown, just returned from Washington, brought a word of encouragement from that city. He gave his audience the assurance that there is no spirit of jingoism prevailing there, and that both the legislative and executive departments are acting with all diligence and sincerity in the hope of preventing the abhorrent crimes of war.

In the meeting the mothers of the nation were represented by Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch. She claimed that the mothers of this country are doing the best they can to produce good, law-abiding citizens, and to teach them to love their enemies, and they decidedly object when these boys are sent to war to nurture the spirit of enmity, to shoot and to be shot. They object, too, to the terrible economic loss to the nation in the fact that war always takes the strongest and most efficient men, leaving the weakest to be the fathers of the next generation.

"No woman who has ever brought a child into the world can be called a cow-

ard, and no mother wants her boy to be a coward; but she wants her children saved for more important things than to kill off other mothers' children," concluded Mrs. McCulloch.

Pro. A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago said, among other good things: "Our late wars have all been practically carried on by boys under twenty-one years of age. The President deserves credit for his policy of watching and waiting, but he has not watched and waited long enough. We have been remiss in not letting him know before this time that he should avoid war under any and all circumstances that are consistent with honor. We don't know now what we are fighting for. The Mexican War, the Cuban War, there is hardly anybody now who does not believe that if we had waited a few months longer than we did, that we might have accomplished what we did without war. We are here to say that we must have peace, and, thank heaven, there seems to be a little hope, a prospect of peace."

Prof. Laughlin, of the same university, was reminded of the meeting held in the old Music Hall sixteen years ago in opposition to the policy of conquering the Philippines, and making them subjects. He remembered how it was urged at that time, as it should be now, that other people were not to be tested by our own legal and constitutional experiences; that other people were not to be obliged by military force to conduct their internal politics according to our ideas any more than one man was to be obliged to conform his conduct and his actions to the will of another man. With reference to the present Acting President of Mexico.

The Professor said: "It is not within our right to say whether the ruler of Mexico—or half of it—shall be a good or a bad man according to our ideas. To make war upon him because he is a bad man and yet say that we have not made war upon those who accept him, is like shooting at the egg-shell and yet saying that we have no animosity toward the egg. When we took Vera Cruz and killed a hundred and fifty Mexicans, was that war against Huerta,—safely ensconsed in the city of Mexico? Or was it war against the Mexican people with armed interference? Of course, it is necessary to protect the lives, property and honor of American men, women and children, that is an entirely different thing; but to make war upon an individual ruler because he may be a murderer is not a sufficient cause for killing with bayonets and bullets. War is still hell, as Gen. Sherman said, and it raises to undue proportions the destructiveness and the lower passions of men. In no uncertain voice, then, let us declare for peace.

The next speaker, Miss Sophronisba Breckinridge of School of Civics and Philanthropy, was introduced by the chairman as "Colonel" Breckinridge, the title belonging to her, as he said, not only as a native-born Kentuckian, but by virtue of proved courage and leadership in all good causes.

Said Miss Breckinridge: "We have heard a great deal about our flag being dishonored, but I claim that no one can dishonor our flag but ourselves. Only when we lose belief in fidelity and fail in courage can that flag be dragged in the dust in any true sense. We have already a foretaste of what war may cost us. Last week it was stated that the war interests had cost the babies of Chicago at least fifty thousand dollars. I cannot help but think of the terrible cost in my own little state down there in a country where we have tried to say to our young men, 'It is more courageous not to fight than to fight.' We had a man down there once who tried to convince himself that he had the courage not to kill when someone did to him what is called an insulting thing. He tried to live in that community without killing anybody, but he had not the courage to go on living, and in order to evade the possibility of killing his neighbor he had to die himself. If we have to have another war and our young men have to go out, we know they would do nobly; but we also know that it would take us another century to come to our coveted ideal of courage. So I ask for peace, not so much for the babies or even for these young boys, but for the struggling ideals for which we have been fighting; I ask that there shall be larger patience, that there shall be greater wisdom, that there shall be graciousness to acknowledge it if anyone has made a mistake. We ask you to help those of us who are struggling in places like our state for some ideal that will give our young men courage and inspiration to go out, not against their fellow-men, but against tuberculosis and disease and social evils. Let us have a little longer time of peace while the Mexicans are working out some of their own ideals."

Rabbi Joseph Stoltz closed a ringing speech in these words: "In this critical time the very fundamental principles of our government are being jeopardized. I want to stand up and be counted amongst those who are in favor of peace. Whatever the newspapers may want to do with their big headlines, exciting the passions and the prejudices of the people, whatever vested interests may want for the protection of their dollars—and they knew in advance what kind of a country they were investing their money in,—whatever our restless army and navy may want to do with their battleships and guns and powder magazines, I know and you know that the people want not war, but they want peace. I take it that we are gathered here to uphold the hands of our President, to express our admiration of his policy of watchful waiting and of the splendid self-restraint that he has shown up to this time, and that our hearts were all filled with gratitude when yesterday we read that our President would accept the offer of mediation that was made to him by some of the South American republics. We ought to let him know that it is the policy and the will of the people of this country that our land that has been foremost among the signatories of the Hague Convention, that has taken such a splendid stand in every international arbitration, that has always stood forward as a messenger of the gospel of peace among the nations of the world,—we, the citizens of this country, want our President to know that we were sincere when we took those steps and that we were honest when we spoke in behalf of peace."

Mr. Charles E. Beals, who has acted for several years as the Secretary of the American Peace Association in Chicago, but who, as the Chairman said, is soon to return to Boston to Chicago's great loss, was called upon to present a resolution to the assembly. Before reading that resolution, which was unanimously adopted by standing vote and was directed to be sent to the President, Mr. Beals said:

"A hundred times during the last seven days I wished that I had died before a week ago yesterday. As one who loves his country I have wished I had not lived to see that chapter of shame, that unbelievable lapse from civilization of this great government known as the United States. We have supported, we have praised, we have congratulated, we have written, we have telegraphed Mr. Wilson repeatedly upon various occasions encouragingly; but I, for one, speaking for myself, not representing or misrepresenting any church or peace society or any other organization, withdraw my approval of any man, any party, any church or any organization whatever, when that organization faces in the wrong direction, and I feel that the head of our administration has been tricked—tricked, and I have not been able to understand yet how far one must keep going in the wrong direction to make that wrong direction right. I have not yet discovered how many lives—how many Mexican lives—must be sacrificed in order to satisfy the "honor of the flag." Any nation or any notion of "honor" that can be satisfied only with blood-drinking is on a par with old-fashioned religions and races that we ought to leave behind forever.

It has been committed to me to embody the ideas expressed here today in the form of a resolution, which I now have the pleasure and honor of presenting."

This meeting rejoices in the tender and acceptance of mediation. It assumes that military and naval operations will be halted during negotiations, and confidently expects peaceful settlement of the Mexican question. It would profoundly lament if our beloved nation should be stampeded by war-making interests into further lapse from civilization entailing needless and wicked sacrifice of human lives.

ANNIE LAURIE KELLY.

WHY WE WANT BATTLESHIPS.

The people of the United States are asked to spend over $140,000,000 a year in building and maintaining warships. We need this money badly to educate our children and to better our conditions of life. Why, then, do we need it for battleships?

It is easy to say why we suppose that we need the battleships. We have been hypnotized to suppose that enemies over the seas might attack us, and destroy our commerce, and burn our cities. They tell us that the money for our navy is a form of "insurance," and that the big ships are like a police force to guard against robber nations. But where are the enemies of the United States or the

robber nations? There is no people that wants to prey on our ships or to rob us. Name all the nations and find a single enemy whom we have to fear. We have a splendid business with all the great nations, and they all want to keep our business. There is not a pirate on the seas any longer against whose depredations all the civilized powers together need to keep a dozen gunboats.

The world has really come upward from the ancient barbarism a good way farther than most people are aware. If we Americans are sincere in what we all say, namely, that we want nothing that does not honestly belong to us; if we show due respect to our neighbors, as we like to have them respect us; if we are not disposed to meddle or interfere with their affairs, as we do not wish to have other people meddle with ours; if we are willing to adjudicate our international differences and misunderstandings, as we are in the habit of adjudicating all our other differences; in short, if we simply regard the Golden Rule, which all our children learn by rote, as Mr. Roosevelt has lately told us that all nations ought to regard it, we should not need to keep a battleship upon the ocean. We need no costly "insurance" against any enemies who plot to injure us.

The reason why we need warships, if we do really need them, is quite different from what we usually imagine. The peril is not over the sea, but here at home. We carry our tremendous war "insurance" bill against the chances that we may start war ourselves. We are willing, or at least some of our people are willing, to reserve the option of trying some time to overreach a neighbor, or to be saucy to one of them, or to be meddlesome and impose our ideas upon them. In other words, we do not quite trust ourselves to be civilized yet.

Let no one suppose that the battleships give us any security from the consequences of foolishness. They really increase our risk. We are like a man who goes about armed with revolvers. The more weapons he has the more he is apt to strut and be insolent and quarrelsome. The big ships, the fortifications and the naval stations are so many points of possible friction and uneasiness; they engender fears and suspicions. Wherever our own nationals travel or trade, they are more likely to "be on their good behavior," to be considerate and conciliatory, if they have no battleships behind them. Neither are our diplomats helped in their negotiations by their power to threaten, but rather by their fairness and courtesy. Our legislatures and Congress will be more reasonable in their legislation touching Germany, or Japan, if they have no "big stick" to use. The president who relies upon the complete disinterestedness of his good offices in Mexico or Central America will be a great deal more likely to unite hostile factions in bringing about stable government for these peoples than if he hurt their national pride by massing battleships on their coasts.

Why do we accept so tremendous and bloody an illusion in this twentieth century? Why do we imagine that war is a matter of course in our world and not a hideous disease? Why do we sophisticate our religion and explain away its application to the business of international murder? The answer to this question goes a great deal further than the mere subject of battleships.

—*Charles F. Dole.*

Farm and Fireside says:

"A writer in the *Technical World Magazine* makes the statement on what seems to be authority that there are five rats for every human being in the United States, or 500,000,000 rats. They all eat, and what they eat is less than what they destroy. On a basis of weight, allowing two pounds to the rat and a hundred pounds to the average person, the rats weigh one-tenth as much as the people; and without any allowance for waste by rats their maintenance costs us a tenth as much as our own food.

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The undersigned will be glad to send to inquirers free tracts, pamphlets and other printed matter as may be available, to those who are interested in knowing more of that religious movement that takes the name Unitarian or kindred titles.

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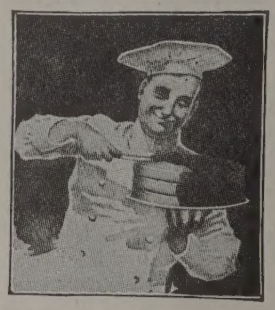

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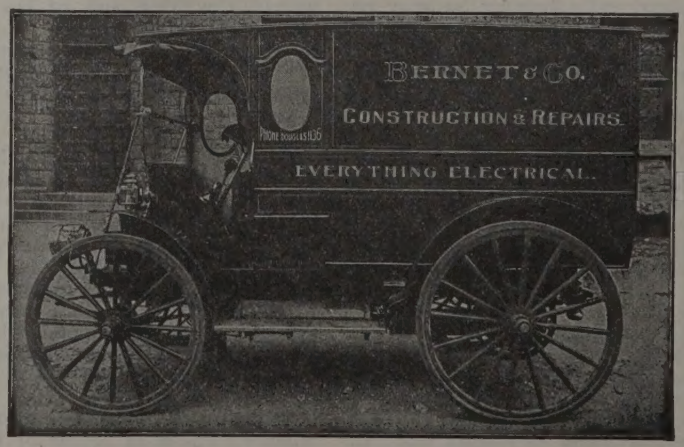

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